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that the husband would not dare to come to her as long as she remained with his *wale atua*.

In the relationship of two *wale atua*, the wish of one is always acted upon by the other; it is even equivalent to a command that may not be disobeyed. A sure way for a boy of former times to get an unwilling girl to marry him was for the boy to work for the girl's *wale atua*. No word was said about courtship, but the male *wale atua* knew that the boy wished to marry his female kinswoman. If he was pleased with the boy, he sent a message to the girl, telling her to marry the boy; a girl would rarely disobey this command from her *wale atua*. A girl might similarly court a boy by working for his female *wale atua*. Even today, where a boy or girl voluntarily works for *wale atua*, people know he or she is trying to force a marriage with the related *wale atua*, though today the wish of the *wale atua* is not so unhesitatingly obeyed as formerly.

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The death of one *wale atua* is the occasion for the display of unceasing affection by the surviving *wale atua*. Some of this affection may be real, brought to high tension by the repression of strong avoidances; some of it may be due to cultural fiction. When the *wale atua* is dying the other *wale atua* may be present and is allowed to talk to, embrace, and weep over the dying relative. (See p. 299.) It is appropriate for a surviving *wale atua* to mourn for a deceased *wale atua* for a period that would be considered extreme for other relatives. As informants put it, the surviving *wale atua* mourns more for a dead *wale atua* than for husband, wife, father, or children, and this is not considered excess of emotion. There is no ideology, however, of the relationship of *wale atua* in the Underworld, and informants were at a loss to know how they would behave to each other when they met there. Similarly, at parting, when one *wale atua* leaves the island to go away, it is considered proper for the *wale atua* to break the tapu at this time, to embrace and mix their tears. The parting may be until death, hence an approximation to death behavior is in order.

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The tapus between *wale atua* come into operation when the young people become sociological adults (*wakatoue* and *wakaeawine*). Before this time the two kinsfolk are considered children unable to understand the kinship tapus. Hence they may eat, live, and sleep together in the same house. In theory, the two *wale atua* are taught at the time of puberty the kinship tapus that they must observe toward each other, but presumably the educational process is spread out over a longer period—otherwise the validity of the tapus have little opportunity to be established. A grown female may be present at the birth of her younger male *wale atua* and take care of him during infancy and childhood; similarly the older male *wale atua* may care for his younger female relative. Friendly, non-tapu relations are maintained between the two until the younger of the pair reaches puberty, when all connection between them ceases and the strictest tapu is established.

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When the adopted (*kohoti*) child joins his new household group, he becomes a *wale atua* of the children of the adopting parent's sibling's descendants. Other things being equal, he ceases to regard as *wale atua* those children who would have been his *wale atua* had the adoption not occurred. This follows from the fact that the *kohoti* child is in the "as if" relation of blood child to the adopting parents.

605 The actual operation of the *wale atua* relationship was observed in the case of Eliu and Lotoa (p. 259):

Lotoa is some years older than Eliu. She lives directly opposite him, across the village road. The two never come closer to each other than the width of the road. They never talk to each other. Should both be sitting outside their houses, they never look at, or face, each other. We asked Lotoa to cross the road one day to the rear of Eliu's house where light was favorable for taking photographs. She refused for a long time, and only came, in the end, when Eliu retired to a safe distance, and her husband persuaded her that it would not matter for once. Immediately the snapshot was taken she hurried back to her *own* house and sat with her back to us. Veti, Lotoa's husband,

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868 of fishing there is in tales and chants. Similarly, in the learning of the old
533 chants and songs, practices are held before some village contest, and the
245 village group of men and women, young and old, sit up throughout the night repeating time and time again the songs and chants which are to be sung at the conclusion of the contest. At the present time, when the villages go to the reserves to make copra, the opportunity is taken to alternate nights devoted to the practicing of chants with the nights devoted to the customary hymn practices.

PUBERTY

304 No surgical operation or physical manipulation was performed on the Pukapukan boy or girl. A foreskin naturally stretched back from the glans was considered a shameful abnormality (*luma*) because it gave the appearance of circumcision. It was a matter for joking among the girls and caused much sorrow to the boy affected. One reference only to circumcision occurs in the folk tales (p. 54).

841 The occurrence of the first menses is spoken of as the opening or piercing
864 of the body (*na pu*).

145 Though her mother does not tell her in advance what to expect, a girl is nevertheless well informed from discussion with her older girl friends. When she finds herself
881 menstruating (*toto*) for the first time, she says to her mother, "I aku na toto" (I am bleeding). Informants say that a girl is naturally frightened (*mataku*) or ashamed (*maakama*) when she first discovers she is menstruating. Cramps are common in both stomach and back. Periods range in length from three days to a week. The menstrual pad (*pulu tautape*) consists of several coconut husks pounded soft and tied with a piece of coconut fiber. Each pad is disposed of in a separate hole dug on the beach for the purpose. There is no fear of the blood. The method of disposal is merely a convenient way of getting rid of soiled objects. A woman does not have sexual intercourse during the menstrual period, on pain of becoming ill from having the blood "pushed up into her chest"; but there is no tapu on her activities or contacts with members of the household. No physical explanation is given for the facts of menstruation. If a young girl commences to menstruate before her mother considers that other signs of physical maturity warrant it, the mother is angry with the girl because this indicates that she is already having a love affair with some man or is, at least, already interested in the opposite sex. Molingi said, "Girls who do not interest themselves in men do not start to menstruate until later on when they are older and ready to marry. Girls who menstruate too early have an undue fondness for men."

841 Two types of physical therapy are used in cases of menstrual trouble. For menstruation prolonged beyond the average four days, the blood is washed away from the pudenda, and the parts bathed in hot water. For delayed menstruation marked by pain, the body is bathed in cold water, either fresh or salt, to cool off the body; and the abdomen is then pressed (*lomilomi*) until menstruation commences.

886 Informants could not explain the recognized connection between the cessa-
[843] tion of the menses with pregnancy, nor could they explain the physiology of the menopause. This is referred to as the closing of the blood flow by the

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886 145 phrase *koe punia* (it is closed). According to Molingi, old women who have had all the children they desire simply stop (*mutu*) having further pregnancies by making up their minds that they do not want them. Informants said that the period of the menopause involves no physical or mental sickness, nor even inconvenience. A woman passes through the menopause as easily and naturally as the average woman bears children.

Acquisition of Adult Status

561 821 864 The rite by which the adolescent becomes an adult is known simply as *wakatane* or *wakawawine* (to become a man or woman). It symbolizes to the community the sexual and social maturity of the individual. Pre-adolescent boys and girls formerly went naked. Though they indulged in no formal sex life, they acquired, through general education and sex plays, full knowledge of sexual behavior. When they have decided the time of maturity has come, the parents of the child formally report the matter at the village 561 meeting. If a boy should try to wear a malo or a girl a kilt (*titi*) before the 881 parents consider them mature, the parents would tear the garment off and 291 make the young persons wait. The parents judge maturity by the secondary sex characteristics or by comparison with the other children of the same birth class (*tai tangata*).

561 881 The occasion for the *wakatane* or *wakawawine* rite depends on the operation of the *tai tangata* system. When it is decided that certain members of a particular birth class are mature, all the boys and girls born in the same six-months period are also considered mature. Informants said that formerly boys and girls would be about 20 years old before they were judged ready to become men and women. If this figure is valid there has been considerable change, for children now become adults at the age of about 15 years. At the time that one group of children attains adulthood, the parents of the next birth class begin to make clothes for their children, six or seven pandanus malos for the boys and many kilts for the girls.

The adulthood rite was generally held during the first new moon of each six-months period. Announcement was made in each village of the names of the children graduating. Without ceremony and in their own house, the parents then formally dressed these children in malo or kilt. This is known as the *tau malonga* or *tau titinga* (putting on malo or kilt). One informant from Yato village said, however, that the men gathered for the *tau malonga* in the reserve of Niua, bathed the boys, took them to a watch house in the reserve, called for this occasion a *male liakinga malo* (house for tying on the malo), and there dressed them in their first malos. No women were allowed to be present. This perhaps constitutes a local village variation on the more customary practice.

Girls had no further duties or activities to perform after they had been

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dressed in their kilts. They remained at home and helped with general domestic tasks and in the preparation of the food to be given each day to the old men (*tupele*). The boys, however, went to the reserves on each of two days to get nuts.

In the big canoes of the old men all the graduating boys from the three villages went together on the first day to Motu Ko, on the second day to Motu Kotawa. At the reserve they got enough nuts to fill their canoes, at the same time being permitted to eat all the reserved foods they wished: nuts, birds, taro, crabs, and other foods. In the evening the boys sailed the canoes back to Wale. As they neared the beach at Wale, the champion wrestler of the graduating group stood in the bow of the foremost canoe. A champion wrestler from the young men's group (*lopa* or *mulivaka*) stepped forward on the beach. The wrestler in the canoe performed the *lupe* ritual (p. 322) to challenge the man on the beach, who then made *lupe* in counter-challenge. When the canoes grounded on the beach, the graduates' champion leaped ashore, and the two wrestlers engaged on the beach before the assembled people. Several bouts might be held between graduates and the men's groups. The graduate champion who defeated the village champion gained great renown from this encounter and the right to call himself champion of the island. The evening wrestling on the second day concluded the rite of adulthood and the boys were now considered young men.

After attaining adulthood young men or women were eligible to marry, to receive adults' food shares, and to perform all the duties of adult members of the community.

Young Men's Fishing Group

Having become adults, the young men of a *tai tangata* (birth class) next graduated to the *tanganga* fishing group. Some informants said that the boys belonged to this group for two years, but membership of the *tanganga* group was normally for six months, until the boys of the next birth class were ready to take their place. If, however, the succeeding group was small, the preceding group would continue to help with the *tanganga* fishing until successive graduating groups became sufficiently numerous to enable them to retire from the daily fishing expeditions.

The *tanganga* fishing group was arranged at a meeting of the old men (*tupele*) held immediately after the adulthood rites were finished. Some informants thought that all the new adults went fishing together in one or more canoes, depending on the number of graduates. Others believed that each boy chose a crew from among his male relatives so that, if there were seven boys in a birth class, there would be seven canoes fishing each day. Probably this second belief is mistaken. But if there were only two or three boys in a birth class and if it was impossible to draw on preceding age groups, these boys would call on their relatives to make up a crew. The nominal leader of the *tanganga* group was the member of the birth class after whom the birth class was named. He was responsible for the conduct of each day's fishing operations, arranged for fishing gear, canoes, and bait, and attended to the handing-over of the fish to the old men.

The *tanganga* fished for such deep-sea fish as bonito, turtle, albacore, and other *tau matua* (large deep-sea) fish. They went out over the reef each day it was possible to make the passage. After catching enough fish for the

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day (one or two *pala* or albacore would be sufficient) the boys returned to the village and took the fish to the old men, who divided them primarily among themselves and secondarily among the people of the inland if the catch was large. Reef fish, rock fish, and other non-deep-sea fish caught by the *tangaŋa* were kept by the boys for their own food. The old men gave some of the talo they received each day in the form of gifts and contributions from the old men's households to the *tangaŋa* boys to eat on their fishing expeditions. It was this food which the graduated girls helped the women of their households to prepare. After returning from fishing, the boys were free from formal duties for the rest of the day.

Seclusion

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Some time after a group of boys and girls had attained adulthood a paternal lineage (*po*) might decide to hold a *kaitau uukayavi*, an institutionalized seclusion period intended to fatten their bodies, whiten their skin, and so make good marriages for the children of the *po*:

> Any number of boys and girls, generally from one to six from a lineage, might be selected. There were separate houses of seclusion (*uale kaitau*) for each sex. The *uale kaitau* (any house chosen for the purpose) was made quite dark by covering the walls (*puipui te uale*) with several layers of overlapping wall sheets and mats. The floor was first covered with mats, then with *pulaka* and *lau kotoau* fern leaves over which coconut oil was liberally spread. The secluded children were made to lie on the leaves, their bodies and heads completely covered with mats. They might eat, lie, or sleep in any position provided they kept well covered. They were given especially fattening foods in large quantities. The food for the following day was pushed into the house at night under the lowest wall sheet so that no light might leak in. Two male relatives guarded the boys' house, and two female relatives the girls' house. The guards (*taute*) remained continuously outside the house to see that no prowlers entered. Accompanied by a guard, the children, covered tightly with mats bound with sennit, left the house at night to evacuate. The beach they went to was referred to as the *vaka uale*, which was also the special term for defecating used only in reference to *kaitau* children. The guards made sure the children did not stray ahead but returned to the house immediately. The young people were kept thus in seclusion for one moon.

When the house was opened up, the children, fat and fair, were taken to the beach to bathe. After being inspected by the members of the paternal lineage, each girl was dressed in two kilts, each boy in a new malo. Decorated with pearl-shell and flower ornaments, they were paraded through the village for all to admire. All the people came to see their beauty, expressing admiration in such terms as, "How beautiful, how fat, how fair", and wondering what men or women would be lucky enough to get such husbands and wives. Only a man who was a good fisherman and rich in nuts and talo could hope to get a fat, fair wife, and only a fat woman would be able to get a *kaitau* husband. The parade over, the girls returned to normal life with the expectation of making a desirable marriage. For the boys there was often a further ceremony (*kaitau lukipoko*):

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When several paternal lineages had been holding a period of seclusion at the same time, the boys' parade took them to the god house of one of the lineages, where a *haitau lukipoko* contest was held. Each boy of the home lineage knelt with his back to a post of the god house and performed the *lupe* ritual (p. 322), beating his thighs with his hands. When the people of the other lineages heard the boys at their ritual, they sent their own *haitau* boys to the same god house. On arriving, each boy of the second group crouched down in the customary half-bent position, beating his knees and thighs, and, making the sound "br-r-r-r" with his lips, advanced to one of the kneeling boys. The two locked shoulders. The challenger tried to push the kneeling boy away from the post, while his opponent tried to push him over and still retain his position by the post. The boy pushed away lost the contest and retired. The winner of a contest might go to the help of another boy of his lineage still engaged. He helped his friend, grasping him round the waist from behind and pushing with all his strength so that their combined weight might overcome the opponent. Insofar as the opponent might also be supported, strenuous contests resulted. The *haitau* group that vanquished the most boys of the opposing group won the contest for their lineage. The defeated lineage had to wait till a later *haitau lukipoko* to avenge its disgrace. The struggle over, the boys returned to normal group life.

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Informants were vague as to the significance of the *haitau lukipoko*. It is likely that values besides the mere sporting ones have a place in its symbolism. The significance of its association with the god house where the priests were accustomed to worship the gods, and the employment of the *lupe* technique customarily reserved for putting the priest *en rapport* with his god, is obscure, and I have no cultural rationalization to offer other than my own speculation that the contest was originally a feature of religious initiation following on the initiation into manhood, which has been lost to the present generation of Pukapukans.

Young Men's and Young Women's Houses

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In everyday activities there is little difference between the life of the youth and that of the young adult. Young men and women are expected to engage more seriously in work, the boys fishing, the girls helping consistently with household duties. In the realm of sex they are now considered mature enough to lead sexual lives. For this and other purposes they might formerly leave the family house and live in *wale lopa* or *wale tamawine* (young men's or young women's houses) with companions of their own age and sex. It does not appear that these houses had the institutional character associated with the bachelor houses of Melanesian communities. There was nothing obligatory about membership in them. The way in which a young men's house might be formed was explained by informants as follows:

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A boy or girl might invite one or more friends to come and live with him at his parents' house. Some parents might not object, as living in the house implied obligations to assist in providing food and brought extra food shares to the household. On the other hand, a parent might object to having several young men (*lopa*) or women (*tamawine*) around his house, especially if they were lazy, and would tell his son or daughter to go build a house elsewhere, where he or she could live with friends without annoying anyone. The house was built on any convenient site—on land owned by the

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dren by various lovers after she realises her cultural position. She will live with relatives who will welcome the arrival of her children and will care for them with every attention. Her status without a husband in the community will hardly suffer, and she will not be morally condemned in any way. Her lovers will be unmarried or divorced or widowed men. As long as she does not welcome married men to her arms, she will remain a respected member of the group. Only if she becomes a husband stealer (*lakau tautau*) is she likely to run up against the intense disapproval of the married women.

A bachelor is referred to by the descriptive phrase, *kili pipilo* (bad-smelling skin), or *kiko kakau* (bitter flesh). There is no name for the bachelor status in relation to marital life, and such a status is outside the norm. Two very old men, one in Ngake, one in Loto, have never married; and one man in Yato of about 35 years is still unmarried. Besides these three there are only two deaf-mute males who will not marry. Of the two old men, informant felt that there was perhaps some truth in the descriptive phrases used of them. The younger bachelor helps to support his married sister and her large family; he may yet marry. There is no suggestion that any of these men is not normal psychologically or physically.

COURTSHIP

Patterns of courtship differ when individuals have in view a permanent relationship leading to marriage and when they intend a semi-permanent liaison or the pleasure of an evening only. Patterns also differ for relations between two unmarried persons and between a married person with one other than the socially recognised spouse.

A young man or woman is expected to enter into a temporary liaison as soon as he or she has completed the adulthood rite. In fact, one informant, Iti, stated that the girl's rite itself included the girl's first sexual experience.

The regular parading of the girls in the evening up and down the village street on the look-out for lovers and possible marriage mates was apparently a common custom in the days before the curfew sounded in Pukapuka.

Some men preferred to arrange meetings with girls through an intermediary. This custom was not common. The intermediary was called *kalele* (messenger), *tangata tuku poloahi* (meeting arranger), or simply *yoa* (friend). The friend visited the girl to give her the message (*poloahi*), naming the meeting place. Stories indicate that the use of an intermediary was often as dangerous as it was helpful to the lover's success.

Some permanent and semi-permanent liaisons are sealed by the exchange of gifts between the two lovers (*ipo*). These gifts are termed *wakatapu*, a word applied only to such presents. An intermediary effects the exchange, taking a present to the girl and receiving from her a gift of talo for her lover. The intermediary keeps some food for himself in payment for his

Younger boys who have not arrived at an age to be initiated into manhood are *kulamoemoe*. Infants are *kulapuputi*.

Frisbie (3) gives three periods in the life of an individual, which roughly correspond with the age groups given above: the first period (*takaua*), in which the child is unclothed; the second (*malo*), in which the individual is mature or is classed as an adult; the third (*matua*), in which the individual becomes a parent or a member of the eldest group of society.

The council formerly decided the time when the boys and young men of the village might be accepted into the group of men. Their approval was given when they judged that a boy was able to take care of himself and to procure food. Ability in fishing, gathering and husking coconuts, and handling a canoe were deemed more important than the mere fact that a boy had reached the age of adolescence. He had to become well grown, sometimes 18 or 20 years of age, before he was physically able to pass the tests and take part in adult life. Until this time the boy lived in his parents' home.

When the council decided that a group of boys or young men was ready to be elected into the group of men, the boys were assembled and ordered to accomplish several tests which would prove their abilities:

For several days or weeks the boys took the canoes to sea to catch king-fish (*pala*). Each night they returned to the village council with their catch, which was divided among the families of the village. When they had proved their ability at sea as canoemen and fishermen, they had to gather coconuts for all the people. The first day they went to Motu Kotava and harvested until late in the day. With their canoes filled, they returned to Pukapuka. On nearing the canoe beach, the strongest wrestler of their group stood in the bow of his canoe and challenged the men on shore to a match. When he went ashore he met the champion of the *'akatane* group. If the wrestler of the candidates defeated his opponent, the entire group of candidates was acknowledged fit for acceptance as men in society. However, on the second day the group was obliged to return across the lagoon to Motu Ko and bring another load of coconuts. After this the boys were given malos to wear and were sent to the young men's house (*uale lopa*) to live as recognized adults (*'akatane*).

The boys considered capable of taking care of themselves (*'akatane*) were eligible to marry. However, marriage did not necessarily take place immediately. A young man must select his mate and make the proper arrangements with the girl's family and his